The coordination could be centralized, as when a factory owner manages operations, or spontaneous, as when skaters weave in and out, creating order on a rink. The skaters take conscious actions (avoiding collisions if possible) but do not consciously create the overall order. It just emerges as if orchestrated by, yes, an invisible hand. Whether the coordination concerns a skating rink or a liberal economy, there must be—or we must imagine—some "beholder and judge" whose invisible hand oversees it on moral as well as pragmatic grounds (p. 45).

The author cites a passage from Smith's earlier *Theory of Moral Sentiments* that eerily foreshadows his famous invisible hand quotation from the *Wealth of Nations* (p. 34): "'[B]y acting according to the dictates of our moral faculties we necessarily pursue the most effectual means for promoting the happiness of mankind, and may therefore be said, in some sense, to co-operate with the Deity and to advance as far as in our power the plan of Providence.'" The case for a liberal economy rests on our belief that some allegorical judge and beholder approves it.

Klein uses the distinction between concatenate and mutual coordination to counter some objections to the invisible hand. With the rise of game theory, economists usually think of coordination as mutual and fail to find it in a market economy. For example, Joseph Stiglitz cannot find mutual coordination among steel producers, so rejects the invisible hand (pp. 75–76). But the invisible hand, Klein reminds us, rests on concatenate coordination, coordinating conflict as well as cooperation from above, and does not depend on participants' mutual coordination.

Admitting a role for moral judgment does not absolve Klein from substantiating the case for free markets. He provides examples, but few seem convincing. For example, he argues for "free competition" in urban transit—not only among bus, taxi, and limo services but train lines as well. Who decides where the tracks are laid? And, since urban planners "can well argue" that partial privatization could yield "disjointed pieces, destructive competition and interloping" (p. 166), the author goes all out for privatizing streets, sidewalks, even local governance (p. 170). Pragmatic regulation might be necessary, he concedes, such as blocking whoever owns the street in front of Bill Gates's house from extorting "outrageous payments" from him (pp. 173–74). What about the owners of streets in front of others' houses? All urban streets are monopolies. How is this whole fantastic concatenation to work concretely?

Klein could analyze experiences. Governments have privatized everything from highways to airport security (not a notable success on 9/11). What went right; what went wrong? He coauthored an article discussing the "great concatenations of turnpike infrastructures" that private builders laid in the nineteenth century. How well did they succeed? Why did governments take them over?

Like colleagues such as George Akerlof and Joseph Stiglitz, Basu deploys the neoclassical paradigm to tell allegories about how the invisible hand fails. Contrary to the subtitle's claim, his is not a "new economics." More important, if a paradigm is so easily contorted—if assuming a few imperfect deviations from its underlying framework will yield opposite results—why rely on it at all?

Klein's case for the invisible hand, resting ultimately on moral grounds, is uncontorted and direct. But since, like Smith, he concedes that pragmatic exceptions to the free-market ideal will always apply, what rationale underlies these exceptions? And why should we believe that the invisible hand works when they do not apply? It is hard to conceive an argument that would persuade skeptics or dissuade believers.

Knowledge and Coordination can be rough going because Klein often fails to define subtle terms clearly enough and then keeps circling back to remedy what he left muddy. These obstacles aside, the book should give serious pause to economists and political scientists who too readily posit a theoretical optimal world and then too credulously think that they can model the actual world by elaborating "imperfect" twists on it. Basu's more readable book uses some of the tools Klein dislikes but, in the stronger arguments, makes intuitive sense. *Beyond the Invisible Hand* will be useful to political economists who want to see how game theory can shed light on the ways that groups and races of rational actors may assume surprising dynamics. It could also be useful to policymakers who must justify arguments about group policies in standard economic terms. Both authors' contributions to political economy deserve to be taken seriously.

Illiberal Politics in Neoliberal Times: Culture, Security and Populism in the New Europe. By Mabel Berezin. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009. 324p. $107.00 cloth, $37.99 paper.
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— Simon Bornschier, *University of Zurich*

This book tackles the paradoxical revival of nationalism in an age in which national boundaries are being lowered in the process of European integration. Most of *Illiberal Politics in Neoliberal Times* analyzes one particular case, that of France, and offers a new interpretation of the rise of the Front National. In analyzing the party's origins, Mabel Berezin first reminds us of the significant role of anticommunism and the rejection of 1968 in the Front National's early discourse. This is important because the rise of the extreme populist Right all too often is analyzed only in terms of the salience of the immigration issue. Immigration indeed became important in the 1980s and early 1990s. Increasingly, however, Berezin argues, "Europe" has replaced it as the main issue driving support for the extreme populist Right, and this shift has substantially widened the party's appeal.

To substantiate her argument, Berezin centers her analysis on the Front National's discourse and the broader context in which the party became one of the most successful of its type in Europe. This perspective allows her to make the provocative—but largely convincing—claim that the Front National's setback in the 2007 presidential elections, rather than revealing the short-term antiestablishment nature of right-wing populist mobilization, was actually a paradox of success: The Front National had transformed the discourse in French political society, which contributed to Nicolas Sarkozy's winning of the presidency with a toned-down version of the populist Right's discourse.

To systematize the analysis, the author divides the trajectory of the Front National and its impact on French society into five time periods. The first phase is "ascendance," during which the extreme Right's first electoral showings were met with protest by organizations such as SOS Racisme. While the Left governed France, the party's heritage as a countermovement against communism and 1968 was still very visible. The next phase, "mobilization," spanned 1995–97. While the Gaullists governed and implemented neoliberal reforms, the Front National managed to broaden its support. "Banalization" is characterized by success and defeat. Jean-Marie Le Pen's speeches came to focus increasingly on European integration. But the party's split in 1999 gave pause to its rise. Le Pen's spectacular comeback in the 2002 presidential elections, which marked the end of the fourth phase ("climbing back," 2000–2002), came as a surprise to many. Ultimately, in the last phase, "dédiabolisation," the Front National came very close to representing ideas that by now have become mainstream. It is not so much that the party has become mainstream. Rather, *the mainstream has increasingly come to resemble the Front National.*

In methodological terms, events "that marked turning points in collective national perceptions" (p. 11) form the unit of analysis. Events are deemed important because they condition what happens later in a path-dependent manner. As stated further along in the book, they "serve as templates of possibilities and sites of collective evaluation. [They] may alter collective national perceptions as well as generate powerful emotions" (p. 199). The "events" studied in the book include the party's initial breakthrough in the early 1980s, the Strasbourg convention that defined the party as "Neither Right Nor Left: French," the 2002 presidential elections when Le Pen came in second, and the French "No" to the European Union constitution in 2005.

Although perhaps not as radical a departure from prior treatments of the Front National as suggested in Chapter 2, particularly not from the French literature, the author's culturalist approach illuminates several phenomena that many studies have missed. One example is the Front National's appropriation of Labor Day as a nationalist holiday (Chapter 5). The book thereby contributes to our understanding of the way in which the extreme Right succeeded in rallying the working class throughout Western Europe, an empirical fact lacking a convincing explanation. By showing how the Front National attacks neoliberalism, Berezin also corrects the market-liberal image sometimes attributed to the populist Right. Second, the author's analysis of events reveals the Front National's surprisingly strong emphasis on the challenge to national sovereignty posed by European integration and the larger process of globalization since the late 1990s. Because Europe has rarely been an important issue in election campaigns, it has tended to be discarded as one of the extreme Right's prime issues—a mistake, it seems. Election campaigns are special events, when challenging parties are at the mercy of the major players in the party system in shaping the terms of the debate.

As to cross-national differences, Berezin argues that the challenge posed by European integration and globalization differs depending on what she calls "consolidation regimes" (pp. 49–54). This term describes the relationship between national culture and the polity, or between the nation and the state. Hegemonic consolidation regimes are characterized by a strong state (which mainly denotes an institutionalized parliamentary democracy, and thus does not vary across advanced industrial countries) and a nationalized culture. This type, exemplified by France, is vulnerable to external threats. Flexible consolidation regimes, one of the other two possible types, are internally less coherent, but "externally more flexible and much more able than hegemonic consolidation regimes to respond to external threats or exogenous factors" (p. 51). In the last chapter before the conclusion, France is contrasted to the Italian case, an example of a country with a flexible consolidation regime. It is only here that this part of the analytical framework really becomes relevant. Indeed, all components of the Italian Right share a firm commitment to Europe, and Europe is seen as an opportunity rather than a threat. But it seems difficult to attribute the differences in the divisiveness of Europe exclusively to France's cultural monism as opposed to Italy's cultural pluralism. Berezin herself highlights how the mainstreaming of the Alleanza Nazionale was shaped by the breakdown of the first Italian republic's party system.

While the book is stimulating, it would have benefited from a stronger engagement with the literature on the extreme Right and the transformation of West European party systems. The wholesale rejection of existing research based on a rather cursory discussion in five pages (pp. 40–45) is unsatisfactory. Indeed, the depiction of the Front National's early profile seems quite compatible with Piero Ignazi's influential claim that the extreme populist Right represents a "silent counterrevolution" against parties mobilizing on postmaterialist values. For Berezin, however, postmaterialism only explains the instability of partisan

alignments, not the formation of new divides that may be related to the extreme populist Right's mobilization and that can result in new alignments. It seems unfortunate that the works of Herbert Kitschelt, Hans-Georg Betz, and Ignazi are unduly reduced to political economy explanations. Berezin thereby neglects accounts that analyze the extreme right in terms of the party system dynamics of the past three decades. Consequently, she assumes that the "reassertion of the nation" (p. 218) encompasses all segments of the French public, when we know that the electorate of the New Left is staunchly cosmopolitan (though possibly antimarket).

Despite these minor criticisms, however, *Illiberal Politics in Neoliberal Times* is well worth reading. It represents a significant contribution to our understanding of the Front National phenomenon in France that has fascinated so many scholars.

Care Work and Class: Domestic Workers' Struggle for Equal Rights in Latin America. By Merike Blofield. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2012. 200p. $64.95.
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— Elizabeth Quay Hutchison, *University of New Mexico*

In *Care Work and Class,* Merike Blofield offers a powerful corrective to the persistent invisibility of domestic workers—one the most important sectors for female employment in Latin America—in existing labor and Latin American studies. In this empirically-rich study of how and why formally democratic states have recently passed important legislation to protect the labor rights of domestic workers, Blofield also makes a passionate normative case for ending legal discrimination against domestic workers throughout the region. Blofield's research is particularly timely, charting as it does the paths to reform and enforcement of new laws in four countries (Bolivia, Costa Rica, Uruguay and Chile) and the 2011 International Labor Organization convention on domestic service. Further, Blofield's approach allows her to address the politics of economic inequality throughout the region, arguing that "how the state mediates this power relation [between employers and domestic workers]—in terms of both laws and enforcement—is an indicator of how the state balances the interests of the rich versus the poor in a democracy (4)." In addition to compiling comparative data on domestic workers' status in constitutional, labor, and judicial codes, Blofield works with congressional debates and interviews to show the economic and cultural reasons for legislative and employer resistance to allowing state intervention in domestic service relations. In light of the legislative resistance and indifference that doomed many earlier reform attempts, Blofield shows how successful legislative projects depend on reformists' ability to push the laws to a plenary congressional vote, where politicians are loathe to declare their opposition publicly. If it did nothing else—and it does much more—*Care Work and Class* would be important for the way it demonstrates how public opinion on matters of persistent, structural inequality can make a difference, by shifting the political calculus of elected officials and thereby propelling new legislation that generates real improvements in domestic workers' working conditions, salaries, maternity and hour limits.

In an effort to balance the specific circumstances of her selected cases with a regional view of domestic service reform, Blofield structures *Care Work and Class* around two approaches to the topic: exploring efforts to reform and enforce equal rights legislation in broad regional terms, and documenting the path to reform in four national cases. In the book's opening chapters, Blofield mines a wealth of regional statistics to describe the working conditions, legislative battles, and enforcement challenges related to domestic service in the twentieth century. Here Blofield draws widely on existing historical and sociological studies to sketch how ethnic and gender inequalities have been articulated in domestic service relations, stressing the near impossibility of effective redress of domestic workers' grievances prior to the recent wave of reform. While her narrative examination of disparate efforts in multiple countries renders the story somewhat opaque, Blofield's tables on domestic workers' employment, salaries, and work hours, as well as those charting relevant legislation and reform efforts, are an absolutely indispensible tool for researchers wishing to place their own work in regional or comparative context. Moreover, this approach exposes the concentration of successful reform efforts in the last fifteen years, providing compelling evidence for Blofield's central argument linking equality reform with the political circumstances of post-authoritarian rule in Latin America.

Care Work and Class is at its best in two chapters describing the disparate paths to legislative reform taken by domestic worker advocates in four countries, which supply excellent evidence for Blofield's conclusion that "domestic workers' organizations, a network of social and political allies, and political 'windows of opportunity' " (40) are necessary to achieve positive outcomes. Blofield's detailed reconstruction of these trajectories through congressional records and original interviews reveals the highly personal and repetitive nature of arguments against reform: opponents frequently cite their concern to protecting domestic workers' real interests (access to employment) and stress the importance of maintaining informal, paternalistic arrangements they consider unique to domestic service. Particularly striking here is the frequency with which reform opponents, as well as advocates, recur to personal experience (usually, but not always, as employers of domestic workers) to support their views. According to Blofield, personal experience is a more powerful indicator of a legislator's position on reform than is ideology or (often nonexistent) party position, though left